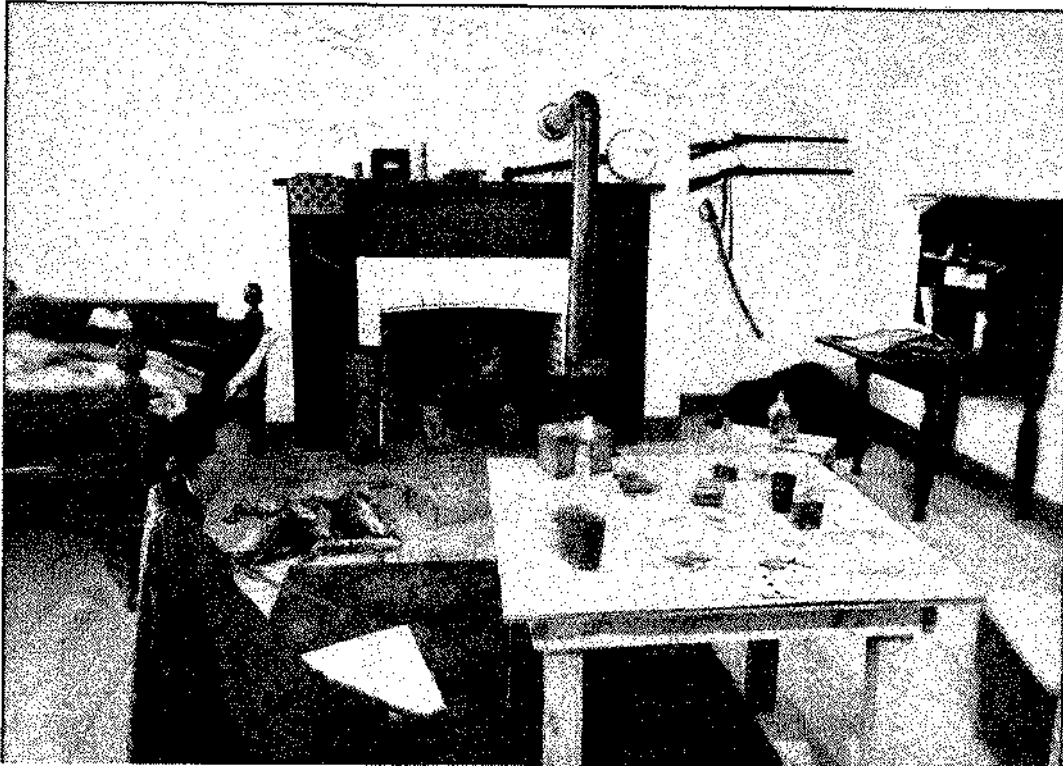


usually prepare the first three sections but expert help from outside the park would probably have to supply the remainder. Plans drafted during the next several years followed this directive in general.

The plan for Philip Schuyler's house in Saratoga National Historical Park, among the first to do so, demonstrated the workability of the prescribed format. Vera Craig visited the park for preliminary discussions in June 1958. Prepared by Craig and Worth Bailey with excellent support from the park's able historian, the first four sections of the plan were submitted in May 1960 and the balance a year later. Saratoga also requested help with a furnishing plan for the small Neilson farmhouse, prominently located on the battlefield. For this the branch turned to a National Capital Parks historian, Agnes Downey, who tackled the Neilson House plan in February 1960 and submitted it in September.⁴³ Downey had shown initiative and skill in furnishing and interpretive matters at Arlington House and the Old Stone House in Georgetown and would break new ground at Manassas National Battlefield Park by restoring the Stone House rooms to their brief wartime appearance as a field hospital.

In December 1959 Mrs. Charles S. Hill of Evergreen, Colorado, proposed to give the Park Service \$100,000 over five years to refurnish ten of the restored buildings at Fort Laramie. Needing furnishing plans, the regional office moved quickly to recruit Sally Johnson, a curator with the Nebraska State Historical Society previously interviewed by Ralph Lewis and John Jenkins. Johnson drafted a strategic plan for the entire project, approved in July 1960. By January 1961 she submitted a thoroughly researched and detailed furnishing plan for Officer's Quarters F tailored to known occupants, Lieutenant Colonel Andrew S. Burt and his family. Upon its approval she began tracking and acquiring the specified furnishings, including some actual Burt pieces. Her success enabled the park to show Mrs. Hill the first fruits of her gift at the formal opening of the quarters in June 1961. Meanwhile she worked on additional plans, completing the difficult one for the Sutler's Store in August and for Officer's Quarters A in November. She continued work on the execution of these plans until July 1962 when family responsibility necessitated her resignation.⁴⁴

To fill her place the region hired Nan V. Carson, a talented student of western history and its material culture aspects. She undertook the remaining plans with vigor and imagination, continuing to emphasize accuracy in recreating settings of life at Fort Laramie based on careful research and close collaboration with the historians. Faced with furnishing a fourth set of officer's quarters, she obtained needed variety by postulating a typical post surgeon and his family. Characteristic of her work were many details she specified for the bachelor officers' quarters in Old Bedlam, the post headquarters. The unkempt masculine impression she strove to achieve in this instance had a fragility threatened by every visit of the park's house-



Refurnished bachelor officers' quarters, Fort Laramie National Historic Site.

keeping staff. She therefore supplemented the Old Bedlam furnishing plan with an "interpretive maintenance plan" giving helpful instructions to the housekeepers. Cleaning should not remove the splatters of tobacco juice, graffiti, and overall griminess contributing to the historic atmosphere. The staff would need to keep rooms elsewhere in the same building as spotless as the commanding officer's wife would have expected in her quarters.⁴⁵

At Independence National Historical Park the planning responsibility fell particularly to David Wallace. As noted previously, he became the park's museum curator in 1959 when the Museum Branch recalled James Mulcahy to Washington. Independence Hall still needed furnishing plans for portions of the building and further work in the Assembly Room. Several other structures including Congress Hall, the Bishop White House, and the Todd House would also require furnishing as their restoration neared completion. Wallace assembled a staff capable of preparing the plans, finding and acquiring the furnishings, and sensitively installing them. His team included four unusually well-qualified furnishings curators: Frederick B. Hanson, Ruth Matzkin Knapp, and John C. Milley, graduates of the Winterthur Program, and Charles G. Dorman, a recognized authority on Delaware furniture from the Smithsonian Institution.⁴⁶ To meet target dates Wallace borrowed Agnes Downey for the Todd House plan. He and

his curators collaborated with several Independence staff historians in plan production and maintained close liaison with the architects restoring the buildings. The results of this team effort, alongside those at Fort Laramie and the work of Craig and Downey in Washington, demonstrated the value of furnishing plans patterned on the 1958 instructions.

Out of the experience gained came constructive changes. To speed review of needed interpretive plans of all kinds the Washington Office issued a field order in 1960 shifting their approval from the director to regional directors. Although this appeared to eliminate one level of critical examination, the order stated that a regional director's approval of a furnishing plan would carry assurance that the Museum Branch and other pertinent specialists had reviewed the plan.⁴⁷

More substantive changes affecting furnishing plans accompanied formal establishment of the historic structure report in 1957. This comprised three parts. Part I defined the park purpose the structure would serve and spelled out how the park intended to maintain and operate it after completion of the proposed development. If it was proposed to furnish the structure for exhibition, this part signaled the need for a furnishing plan and for programmed funds to execute it. It also provided a history of the structure based on documentary research and when relevant included any data found on its historic furnishings. Part II, the core of the report, presented the results of architectural and archeological research on the structure, including any evidence relating to its furnishings. Part III was a completion report recording precisely what had been done to the building.

Expanded guidelines for preparing historic structure reports accompanied the "Inventory with Classification and Work Code for Historic Buildings and Structures" issued in November 1960. This document left a gap in the instructions for Part II under "furnishings and exhibition data." At the chief architect's request the Museum Branch recommended the outline later inserted for this section.⁴⁸ It called for a statement of the evidence that architects or archeologists had found suggesting how the building had been furnished along with any documentary references to the furnishings they had encountered. The outline also requested the architect's appraisal of the tastes and style he found reflected in the structure itself that might have echoed in the occupants' choice of furnishings. Such information increased the linkage between the historic structure report and the furnishing plan.

The nature and extent of this linkage made it apparent that the furnishing plan should regularly be prepared after Part II. Only in this sequence could the furnishing plan safely analyze the conclusions of the architects, archeologists, and historians who had studied the building thoroughly. Even closer dovetailing of the historic structure report and furnishing plan became desirable. The furnishings curator who would work

on the plan could help the architect and archeologist as they searched for and interpreted clues to the nature or placement of furnishings left in the building fabric or unearthed on the site, and the historian who documented the structural history for the report could often most efficiently pursue the history of the building's occupancy for the furnishing plan.

In one respect the two documents differed conceptually. The 1960 inventory of historic structures under Park Service custody classified each structure in one of three categories. Class A structures had prime historical or architectural significance, Class B structures formed part of a historic scene, and Class C structures provided settings of typical lifeways. Because of the high costs and exceptional skills involved in architectural restoration, the three classes were made subject to different levels of research and restoration. The Museum Branch, however, could not accept anything other than one standard—the highest attainable accuracy—for furnishing plans and for the museums developed from them.⁴⁹ While this position reflected basic museum philosophy, the single standard encountered some difficulties in application.

Most problems in maintaining high quality for furnishing plans arose in parks faced with developing several historic buildings under pressure. In the early 1960s, for example, Yosemite National Park attacked the problem of overcrowding in Yosemite Valley by developing other points of interest in the park. One such project was the Pioneer History Center at Wawona, resembling in concept a European open air museum. The park moved seven of its smaller historic structures to the site and undertook to furnish them as exhibits. The park interpreters submitted brief furnishing plans for most of them, including an early superintendent's office, a Wells Fargo office, a cabin used by a cavalry detachment, a ranger patrol cabin, and an artist's studio. The Museum Branch concurred in the plans reluctantly in the hope that the park had on file much more historical data than the planners had included. The work proceeded without the careful study and preparation the refurnishing deserved. Seventeen years later and after many thousands of park visitors had viewed the installations, a collection preservation guide for the park could only conclude that all seven buildings still needed adequate furnishing plans.⁵⁰

Another example occurred at Appomattox Court House National Historical Park. Here historic buildings, original and reconstructed, constituted the principal park features. The reconstructed McLean House reproduced the parlor in which Grant and Lee had reached agreement on the terms of surrender virtually ending the Civil War. Ample evidence existed to refurnish it accurately, and the Museum Branch assisted in doing so. Although this was the proper focal point of the site, interests in the surrounding area pushed for fuller development. The park decided to furnish not only the rest of the McLean House but several other village

structures. Initial help from the regional office led to furnishing plans of sorts for a general store and a law office in addition to the surrender house. The plans appeared inadequate to the Museum Branch reviewers, as did the resulting installations. Stock displayed in the store, for example, failed to suggest conditions of deprivation caused by the war.⁵¹

A third park where furnishing plans fell short lay at the doorstep of interpretive planning headquarters. The Harper House at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park was the beneficiary of an excellent furnishing plan (1960-63) by Vera Craig in sometimes difficult collaboration with the local garden council.⁵² About a decade later the park launched a crash program to revitalize other historic buildings in the lower town. Much research and restoration remained to be done, but there seemed need to show immediate results. Pressure no doubt came from Harpers Ferry Center management, eager to demonstrate state-of-the-art interpretation. "Living history" was at its apogee and the park needed appropriate sites for such activity. The Service also realized the political expediency of a good show at Harpers Ferry. In consequence the park moved energetically to recreate in available buildings a general store, a pharmacy, a law office, a provost marshal's office, and a tavern. Installed without the formality of furnishing plans, they violated curatorial standards entailing time and patience.

Such failures in the system were not inevitable. Hopewell Village (later Furnace) National Historic Site also had several structures it needed to furnish. One of the specialists assigned to architectural restoration in the park, Norman M. Souder, obtained permission to work on furnishing plans as well. Thanks to his intimate knowledge of the structures and their occupancy, the office/store and later a tenant house received installations of first-rate integrity.

The contrast between furnishing projects thoroughly planned and those that stunted planning appeared obvious, at least to the Museum Branch. In its 1963 statement to the director's Long Range Requirements Task Force, the branch consequently urged "the preparation and critical review by experts of furnishing plans for all historic house museums in the parks." The branch had in mind existing as well as new installations. After reorganization of the central museum staff in 1964, the new Branch of Museum Operations to which furnishing matters were assigned could focus more thought and effort on them. A conference of regional curators it convened that September concluded that the Service was "falling behind the best current standards and practices in the maintenance, operation and interpretation of its historic house museums."⁵³ This statement supported branch staff in revising guidelines for the furnishing plan.

Concurrently another unit of William Everhart's Division of Interpretation and Visitor Services made a fresh start on an interpretive planning handbook aimed at incorporating Everhart's new approach to park

interpretation into the interpretive prospectus. The Branch of Museum Operations submitted a chapter containing revised furnishing plan guidelines in May 1965. It was never added to the handbook, which was never formally released; instead the branch distributed individual copies of its chapter as needed. This secured the effective application of the revised guidelines well before their Service-wide issue in January 1968 as part of the *Museum Handbook*.

Under the revised guidelines the furnishing plan still consisted of six parts, a through f. Part a, essentially the same, spelled out in more specific detail than did the interpretive prospectus the interpretive purposes the furnished structure should fulfill. Part b told how the park proposed to operate the museum in terms of visitor use, interpretive services, maintenance, and protection. The analysis of historic occupancy became c and the available information on original furnishings became d. Part e specified in detail how the structure should be furnished, consolidating the material formerly assigned to d, e, and f. Part f contained the curator's cautionary advice on special installation requirements, maintenance, and protection.

Organizational developments in the Service had by this time clarified normal production responsibilities for the various parts of the plan. The chief park interpreter ordinarily commanded the knowledge necessary to prepare parts a and b. Historical research had largely become the function of a centralized professional staff, and parts c and d became a programmed resource study normally assigned to one of its research historians. Completion of these four sections provided the basis for a furnishings curator to draw up parts e and f.

The validity of a carefully furnished structure as a historical document was especially vulnerable to erosion. If housekeepers and interpreters made small changes in arrangement or content as they performed their daily duties, cumulative results could undermine the installation's integrity. To control such alterations the guidelines offered two provisions. The furnishings curator should revise part e at the conclusion of the development project to match exactly the furnishings as installed. The approved plan would thus become a continuing baseline. Future changes in the furnishings (which might well be justified) would require approved revisions in the plan.

Responsibility for the plan's various parts remained rather flexible at first. Branch staff might prepare a draft for parts a and b to assist or prod a park interpreter in getting a plan started. The furnishings curator assigned to do e and f might also work on c and d if a historian were unavailable. Curators sometimes preferred to prepare all four of those parts. Establishment of c and d as a resource study to be carried out by a historian who might not understand the whole planning process complicated relations across organizational lines. A meeting in January 1973 between David

Wallace, chief of the Branch of Museum Operations and Harry W. Pfanz, chief of the Branch of Park History, clarified matters.⁵⁴ Both sides came to see that the historians dealt with a resource study and the curators with a development plan. The essential unity between study and plan counterbalanced such overlapping as occurred in their preparation.

Changes continued in Service planning procedures. Most planning came to emanate from the Denver Service Center. Under its methods parts a and b of the furnishing plan composed what DSC called a planning directive. DSC normally assigned one of its professional planners to prepare the directive in consultation with the park and, for a furnishing plan, with curators at the Harpers Ferry Center. Parts c and d became Part I of a historic furnishings report prepared by a DSC research historian. Parts e and f, redesignated as Part II of the furnishings report, remained the task of furnishings curators assigned by HFC. Essentially unchanged in function and content but with fresh names for its components, the plan reflected a more systematic division of labor undoubtedly intended to improve efficiency and increase the document's overall professional stature. Guidelines for the furnishing plan adjusted accordingly were reissued in 1976.⁵⁵

Procedure continued to be the most mutable aspect of the plan. When David Wallace took charge of the new Branch of Reference Services he retained responsibility for preparing and implementing furnishing plans. At first only he and Vera Craig had the knowledge required to do so. Without slighting the other undermanned services assigned to him, he set out to build a staff of well-trained furnishings curators such as he had earlier assembled at Independence National Historical Park. In June 1977 he hired John Demer, who had been trained at Winterthur and the Cooperstown Graduate Program and who had been curator of the venerable Concord Antiquarian Society and the Renfrew Museum. Three months later Katherine Menz, a Winterthur graduate, transferred to the branch from her position as curator at the Home of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Vanderbilt Mansion national historic sites. John P. Brucksch, a historian by training, came to Wallace's staff from the curatorship of the Andover Historical Society in early 1978. That November Sarah M. Olson transferred from DSC, where she had been one of the able historians assigned to work on furnishing plans. She also brought valuable experience from an internship in decorative arts at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The existence of this talented staff tended to shift the balance in the furnishing plan process.

Other factors as well no doubt lessened the involvement of DSC. Soon after 1980 park superintendents resumed responsibility for defining interpretive objectives and drafting an operating plan as the first step in developing a furnishing plan. The experienced furnishings curators stationed at Harpers Ferry, and by then organized as a Branch of Historic

Furnishings, found it efficient as a rule to carry out the historical research on the occupancy of the structure and its furnishings before they undertook to specify the furnishings to be exhibited. Thus the park again produced what had been parts a and b, later called a planning directive. The furnishings curators in turn prepared a historic furnishings report that duplicated in content old parts c, d, e, and f. One further procedural change followed: in 1982 the Branch of Historic Furnishings arranged to have a collections management specialist, usually a curator from the Washington Office Curatorial Services Division, draft the concluding section of the plan concerned with special maintenance and protection recommendations (old part f).⁵⁶

Earlier in the evolution of the furnishing plan two variant forms became necessary. Several of the most significant houses in the parks, including those of the Adamses, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Edison, and Vanderbilt, had come into Service custody with the furniture of their historic occupants largely in place. They required the faithful preservation of authentic historic environments rather than the recreation of such environments. The 1965-68 guidelines modified the furnishing plans for such museums. Sections a and b, the interpretive objectives and operating plan, remained relevant. The record of historic occupancy, section c, would assist interpreters and could be condensed from other documents. Section d would document the authenticity of the furnishings. The next section, e, would consist of a permanent record in photographic and inventory form of the furnishings and their arrangement. The concluding maintenance and protection section corresponded in importance to the unique value of the furnishings and their placement.

Other historic houses inherited by the Service as furnished museums or furnished by a park or cooperating organization without benefit of plan called for more skeptical treatment. The guidelines proposed that the furnishing plan for such a museum start from scratch, as though the structure were empty. Section e of the plan would then specify the furnishings the building ought to have. The plan would incorporate only those items of the existing furnishings that clearly fitted the historic setting determined by the thorough research of parts c and d. Both variants maintained the goal of the furnishing plan to make Park Service house museums reliable historical documents.

Operational Aspects, 1958-1982

Furnishing plans, although vital to the sound development of historic structure museums, proved only the first step. Implementing the plans resulted in museum collections that required maintenance, protection, and interpretation. In 1953 the Museum Branch asked Vera Craig to undertake

preparation of a housekeeping manual to help parks maintain the exhibited rooms. A year later the first regional curators' conference called for restraint in the proliferation of historic house museums and advised more care in executing cooperative agreements with outside organizations helping to develop and operate them in parks. By 1962 questions of interpretation in these museums were being raised. A year later the branch urged the director's Long Range Requirements Task Force to include "the establishment of standards and the provision of staff and funds for the ... maintenance of the historic furnishings, and the development and application of imaginative and effective ways to present and interpret the structures."⁵⁷

Following reorganization of the museum program in 1964, the new Branch of Museum Operations lost little time in launching two initiatives. The first was an informal study of historic house museum practices involving visits to thirty of these museums, only eight of which were under the Park Service. Ralph Lewis made most of the visits with his wife while off duty; Vera Craig made the remainder. Acting as ordinary tourists without identifying themselves, they began each visit with the first roadside sign noted and considered more than thirty aspects before exiting. The project developed a broad picture of current practices, highlighted a variety of solutions to common problems, and permitted some comparison of their effectiveness. The effect of approach factors on a visitor's frame of mind seemed especially significant. Perhaps surprisingly, the observers found no correlation between the dress of interpreters and the quality of interpretation. The reports noted numerous intrusive features that tended to break the spell of recreated historic environments.⁵⁸

The second initiative stemmed from a recommendation of the 1964 regional curators' conference that the branch organize and conduct a seminar on the furnishing, interpretation, and operation of historic house museums. After an unavoidable postponement, the seminar was held in September 1966 at Vanderbilt Mansion National Historic Site. Ten people participated full time; twelve others joined in particular sessions. Out of their deliberations came ten carefully weighed recommendations, which served to raise the visibility of these museums among Park Service management.⁵⁹

The first was for a change in nomenclature. "Historic house museum" poorly suited refurnished mills, offices, stores, and fortifications. To make clear that the standards, procedures, and guidelines for these museums applied to structures other than residences, the seminar recommended Service adoption of "furnished historic structure museum." While the old name remained in common use elsewhere, the Service gained precision by regular application of the new.

Another recommendation tried to address the problem of quality control over these widely dispersed and specialized museums. The Branch of Museum Operations, responsible for technical leadership in the development and operation of furnished historic structure museums, had no line authority over them. No procedure existed to pass expert judgment on the historical integrity of a furnished museum, the adequacy of its maintenance, or the effectiveness of its interpretation. Because the high professional competence of Chief Curator Harold Peterson extended to historic furnishings, the seminar report proposed that he be charged with conducting periodic studies of them in operation. As it turned out, Peterson could do little to carry out this recommendation: the perennial inadequacy of travel funds, insistent demands on him in connection with Bicentennial projects, and his failing health conspired to frustrate the plan.

More success came from another seminar recommendation regarding maintenance. Participants urged that furnished historic structure museums appear regularly on the agendas of regional maintenance conferences. Other training programs for maintenance supervisors followed similar practice. Some made a point of inviting a furnishings curator to take part. Such demonstrations of common interest tended to undergird the day-to-day collaboration between park maintenance staffs and curators essential to safe and effective housekeeping in these museums.

In preparing his *Manual for Museums*, Ralph Lewis found that historic housekeeping required the reconciliation of three different approaches. The maintenance approach normally applied to public buildings relied on established standards of cleanliness to prescribe cleaning schedules, materials, and techniques that would accomplish the purpose at minimum cost. It assumed that furnishings and building components wear out and are replaced as necessary. The curator on the other hand saw the furnishings and building as museum specimens that the Service was obliged to preserve and protect. Housekeeping methods must not put these often irreplaceable objects at risk. From the standpoint of the interpreter, current housekeeping needed to create the approximate appearance produced by the original housekeeper who might have used quite different procedures. Changes caused by modern cleaning methods would affect the integrity of the presentation.

Meshing these potentially conflicting requirements demanded further study. Lewis examined GSA's building maintenance manuals and those of other building management organizations that specified how often to clean interior spaces of different kinds and uses, what equipment and supplies to use, what standard techniques to follow, and the time required per unit area. Such instructions required much modification to fit the practices professional conservators had tested and found safe and effective for cleaning museum objects and historic surfaces. Cleaning agents, tools for

their application, techniques, and frequency had to be adapted to preservation imperatives without losing sight of cost-effectiveness. Then it became necessary to determine the cleaning methods and materials in common use during the 1600s, 1700s, and 1800s. Lewis consulted every old domestic housekeeping guide in the Library of Congress, then tried to discover the visual results of obsolete practices. How, for example, did a floor look when scrubbed regularly with sand, brushed with crushed herbs, or swept after a scattering of damp tea leaves? Next came the problem of what safe and practical modern housekeeping method would produce a comparable appearance. From such studies came the guidelines finally issued as Chapter 11 in the *Manual for Museums*.

Chapter 12 on protection also drew from seminar recommendations. Discussions made clear that concern for safety should pervade the operation of furnished historic structure museums. The seminar consequently proposed and the directorate agreed that the museum's curator or interpreter should serve as a member of the park safety committee to keep it alert to hazards in the museum. A particular risk involved the changed function of the building. As a museum it often contained many more people than the original builder had in mind. Could they evacuate the building safely in an emergency? If doorways, stairways, passages, and exits failed to meet the standards for its new occupancy, what could be done? To alter structural features would threaten the historical integrity of the museum's prime specimen. The seminar recommended that when safety conflicted with integrity, the solicitor should guide the superintendent to legally acceptable alternatives such as limiting the number of visitors allowed inside at a time.

Protection also applied to the collections in these museums. Room barriers were generally considered necessary to keep historic objects beyond the reach of too curious or acquisitive fingers, but these could detract seriously from visitor appreciation of the historic environment. A few parks had demonstrated excessive caution by erecting clear plastic panels or boxes that shut the visitor out of the room. Floor-to-ceiling barriers of chicken wire installed in at least one park did the same while conveying an impression of shoddiness. Rope or cord barriers with frayed ends tied to doorknobs made equally poor impressions.

Visitors in general appeared to accept barriers that assured them where they should stand or walk to view a furnished room. A good barrier would invite them to examine the room and would stay out of their line of sight as they did so. Museum Operations helped develop neat rope barriers for the Old Stone House in National Capital Parks using shorter, thinner stanchions and black nylon rope. For the Stonewall Jackson Memorial Shrine at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, the branch devised a free-standing iron barrier that required no damaging attachment to historic woodwork. On the heels of the

seminar it proposed a sample barrier incorporating desirable features. The prototype was built to fit a door in Arlington House. Adults found the narrow wood top rail at a convenient height to lean on as they observed the features of the room. The thin but sturdy iron frame left an open viewing space below the rail for young children. In an emergency an attendant could lift out the barrier for quick access.

Less tangible problems of interpretation in these museums also concerned the branch and the seminar. Seminar participants understood that furnished historic structure museums have relatively complex messages to communicate to visitors. Interpretive shortcomings generally stemmed less from what the visitors saw than from the kind of help they received during their visits. Park interpreters tended to treat their museums as self-operating devices rather than interpretive tools for active use. In contrast, such successful interpretation as achieved at Colonial Williamsburg relied on active attendants in the furnished structures who received intensive and continual training in technique and subject matter. How could the Park Service attain comparable quality?

Factors of dispersion and variety of content precluded centralized courses of instruction at the Service's existing training centers. The seminar concluded that the best hope lay in centrally assisted efforts at the individual parks. Although no specific training initiative resulted, the branch later prepared for park staff members an extended discussion of what and how to interpret in a furnished historic structure museum. This constituted the fourth chapter in Part HI of the *Museum Handbook* issued in February 1969. The chapter concluded with brief consideration of the possibility of treating exhibited historic structures differently.

The Museum Branch believed that furnishing a restored building as an exhibit should never become a stock solution for its preservation or use. After a 1959 regional curators' conference it developed a set of four criteria any decision to refurnish should meet. When a furnishing plan proposal for the Mount Washington Tavern at Fort Necessity National Battlefield called Vera Craig there in 1964, what she saw led her to recommend against a furnished historic structure museum. Instead the branch proposed that symbolic objects be displayed in the barroom and parlor to evoke characteristic activities of a stopover during a stagecoach journey along the National Road.⁶⁰ Speaking before the National and State Parks Section of the American Association of Museums in 1966, Nan Carson suggested that when communication of impressions and feelings rather than factual history is the goal, impressionistic stage settings might succeed better than detailed refurnishing. When Part III of the *Museum Handbook* was released in January 1968, the branch's criteria for refurnishing stood at the head of its first chapter.

In spite of the criteria and the encouragement of different approaches, furnished historic structure museums in Service custody continued to multiply. When Director George Hartzog abrogated the Service's handbooks in July 1969, the criteria published in the *Museum Handbook* lost effective status. Comparable authoritative criteria did not reappear until publication of the Service's *Management Policies* in 1978. Clearly aiming to limit the development of furnished structure museums, they insisted on significant relationship to a primary park theme, prior determination that furnishing would constitute the most effective interpretive approach, and enough historical evidence to achieve defensible accuracy. These criteria, directly applicable to the Branch of Historic Furnishings established at Harpers Ferry Center in 1978, remained in effect through and beyond the period of this study.

During 1978-82 this branch produced or received historic furnishing studies, reports, or plans for at least 32 projects. About half these documents concerned structures in development programs initiated before the 1978 policies, but they generally seemed in step with the fresh criteria. They aimed at accurate furnishing of additional interiors at Independence National Historical Park; Hubbell Trading Post, Fort Davis, Fort Lamed, and Fort Scott national historic sites; and Grand Portage National Monument. Half the remaining plans and reports of 1978-82 addressed the furnishing of structures that seemed to meet the significance and interpretive criteria with little question, including Lincoln's home in Springfield, Dwight D. Eisenhower's at Gettysburg, William Howard Taft's in Cincinnati, Augustus Saint-Gaudens' home and studio, and John Muir's home. Application of the historical evidence criterion did reduce the extent of development in at least one case. A few projects of the period less clearly met the criteria, notably two small Hispanic houses at Castolon in Big Bend National Park, the Hornbeck Homestead at Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument, and settlers' houses at Cumberland Gap National Historical Park and Great Smoky Mountains National Park.

The furnishings curators recruited by David Wallace carried on ably in the spirit of the 1978 policies. Their knowledge and skill enabled them to achieve the standards of quality toward which the furnished historic structure program had striven since Ned Burns and Ronald Lee had first given it serious attention. The museums planned and developed by the Branch of Historic Furnishings steadily added to the wealth of collections under National Park Service care.

NOTES

1. Ralph H. Lewis, *Manual for Museums* (Washington: National Park Service, 1976), pp. 182-83.

2. Advocates of this broader preservation of the "built environment" sometimes went too far to disparage museum use of historic structures. The role of historic structure museums in the preservation movement through 1949 is ably told by Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., in *Presence of the Past* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1965) and *Preservation Comes of Age* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1980).
3. *Charter and By-Laws of the Washington Association of New Jersey* (Morristown: Vogt Brothers, 1899). See Morristown box, NPS History Collection.
4. *Historic House Museums* (Washington: American Association of Museums, 1933), pp. 20, 32.
5. U.S. Department of the Interior, *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1918* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), p. 49, hereinafter cited as *Report of the Director for (year)*; *Report of the Director for 1919*, p. 89; *Report of the Director for 1921*, pp. 273-74; *Report of the Director for 1922*, p. 156; Carl P. Russell Diary entries for late April and early May 1935, Richard W. Russell Personal Files.
6. Willis Peterson, "Pipe Spring National Monument, A Pioneer Heritage," *Arizona Highways* 33, no. 3 (March 1957).
7. Charles E. Hatch, Jr., *Chapters in the History of Popes Creek Plantation* (Washington: National Park Service, 1968), pp. 161-63; see also Chapter One.
8. Randall J. Biallas, "Evolution of Historic Structure Reports and Historic Preservation Guides of the U.S. National Park Service," *APT Bulletin* 14, no. 4 (1982): 7. Peterson had little regard for the ability of academically trained historians to dig out documentary information pertinent to structural problems in historic buildings; he preferred to rely on himself and his staff architects for such research.
9. Letter, Floyd Flickinger to Director, NPS, Sept. 8, 1937, Administrative Files, Colonial National Historical Park.
10. Letters, Floyd Flickinger to Director, NPS, Apr. 28, 1936, and Sept. 8, 1937, *ibid.*
11. Letter, Mrs. Julian G. Goodhue to Floyd Flickinger, Mar. 15, 1937, *ibid.*; letter, Flickinger to Goodhue, Apr. 6, 1937, *ibid.*; letter, Flickinger to Director, Apr. 9, 1937, *ibid.*; letter, Director to Flickinger, Apr. 17, 1937, *ibid.*; Hopkins, "A Suggestion for the Refurnishing of the Surrender Room of the Moore House" (report, undated), *ibid.*
12. Hopkins, "An Inventory to Date of the Furniture and Furnishings Contained within that Room Known as the Surrender Room in the Moore House, Yorktown, Virginia, and Presented by the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution to Colonial National Historical Park at a Dedication Ceremony Held within the House April 26, 1938," File 620-107, Colonial NHP.
13. Letter, Floyd Flickinger to Mrs. Gustavus Town Kirby, Sept. 3, 1937, Administrative Files, Colonial NHP; letter, Flickinger to Director, NPS, Sept. 8, 1937, *ibid.*; letter, Kirby to Flickinger, Dec. 8, 1937, *ibid.*; Hopkins, "A Suggestion for the Refurnishing of the Dining Room of the Moore House" (report), Nov. 17, 1937, *ibid.*; Coleman, *Historic House Museums*, p. 67.

14. Stanley W. McClure, *The Lincoln Museum and the House Where Lincoln Died* (Washington: National Park Service, 1960), p. 39; George J. Olszewski, *House Where Lincoln Died Furnishing Study*, Apr. 15, 1967, pp. 32-33, in National Capital Parks-Ford's Theatre box, NPS History Collection.
15. As remembered from visits in the late 1930s and 1940s, the death room achieved a reasonable approximation of the intended result. The front parlor was sparsely furnished around a sofa and chair Oldroyd had acquired in Lincoln's home at Springfield, Illinois. The back parlor, a tenant couple's bedroom in 1865, gave little impression of its everyday use or the critical activity centered in it during the assassination night.
16. Public Law 68-562, Mar. 4, 1925, U.S. *Statutes at Large* 43: 1356.
17. For example, visitors saw the large uncompleted room Custis used as a painting studio as a stately dining room with crystal chandelier. See also the bequest of furnishings from General William E. Horton reported in *Park Service Bulletin* 7, no. 9 (October 1937): 16.
18. Russell Diary, Feb. 6-7, 1935, Richard W. Russell Personal Files; letters, Russell to Betty Russell, Aug. 6 and Sept. 7, 1935, *ibid.*
19. *Park Service Bulletin* 6, no. 4 (May 1936): 4. The research apparently originated in the park.
20. Information sheet, undated but before August 1934, Jockey Hollow Exhibits folder, Morristown NHP box, NPS History Collection.
21. *Park Service Bulletin* 7, no. 6 (July 1937): 29, 32.
22. *Park Service Bulletin* 7, no. 2 (February 1937): 14; *ibid.* no. 3 (March 1937): 28.
23. Memorandum, Small to Chief, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, Aug. 23, 1954, Salem Maritime NHS box, NPS History Collection.
24. Memorandum, Director to All Field Offices, Nov. 1, 1939, Museum Survey of 1939-40 folder, Exhibit History 1939-40 box, NPS History Collection; "A Survey of National Park Service Museums," *Museum News* 19, no. 7 (Oct. 1, 1941): 10-12.
25. Ned J. Burns, *Field Manual for Museums* (Washington: National Park Service, 1941), pp. 255-69; memorandum, Director to Washington and All Field Offices, Mar. 13, 1940, Exhibit History 1939-40 box, NPS History Collection.
26. Vanderbilt Mansion box, NPS History Collection; Monthly Reports Museum Division box, *ibid.*
27. *Park Service Bulletin* 10, no. 5 (September-October 1940): 13.
28. *Park Service Bulletin* 10, no. 1 (January-February 1940): 28. Huth examined some furniture loaned to a museum by the White House and exhibited as pieces James Monroe had purchased from France. He found that it was manufactured in Philadelphia for James Buchanan. Privileged to have accompanied Huth on an inspection of White House public rooms, the writer recalls his deft identification of presumed antiques as later copies.

29. Stanley McClure continued the linkage of objects to their accession records. The application of catalog numbers was also essentially completed, and considerable progress was made on descriptive catalog entries. The effort was interrupted by the reconstruction of the White House interior. A later administration redecorated many of the rooms, secured legislation giving the Smithsonian Institution a share in curatorial management, and adopted cataloging procedures that largely ignored what had been accomplished.

30. Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Preservation Conies of Age* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1980), pp. 795-806.

31. Eastern Museum Laboratory monthly reports, December 1946, February, June, Oct. 15-Nov. 15, 1947, Monthly Reports Museum Division box, NPS History Collection; Museum Branch monthly reports, February, April, August 1948, *ibid*.

32. Museum Branch monthly reports, December 1950 and January 1951, *ibid*. Burns liked to tell of one thing that particularly impressed him on his Winterthur visit. As he lunched with du Pont he could see close by a small group of silver tankards wrought by Paul Revere whose value far exceeded what he would earn in a lifetime.

33. The pieces included the famous "rising sun" chair occupied by George Washington while he presided over the Constitutional Convention. Preparator Frank Urban treated them, strengthening weakened members with the minimum of new material skillfully inserted.

34. *Administrative Manual*, vol. 25 (Information and Interpretation in the Field), ch. 6, sec. 3, p. 3; Exhibit History 1941-59 box, NPS History Collection.

35. "A Summary Report on the historical basis for the partial refurnishing of the Assembly Room, Independence Hall," Box 14, Archives Section RoE6, Independence NHP Library. The committee continued to function for the Independence Square buildings at least until the early 1960s. As the park's curatorial staff became clearly competent in furnishings, consultation with it became unnecessary and occasionally irksome.

36. Museum Branch monthly report, October 1954, Monthly Reports Museum Division box, NPS History Collection.

37. Memorandum, Director to Washington and All Field Offices, Mar. 13, 1940, Museum Policy binder, NPS History Collection; Burns, *Field Manual*, p. 257.

38. Memorandum, Lewis to Chief, Division of Interpretation, July 12, 1955, Andrew Johnson NHS binder, Vera Craig Files, Division of Historic Furnishings, HFC; memorandum, Director to Regional Director, Region One, Aug. 26, 1955, *ibid*.

39. Memorandum, Acting Chief, Division of Interpretation, to Director, *ibid*.

40. Memorandum, Superintendent, Andrew Johnson NM to Craig, Feb. 8, 1957, *ibid*.; memorandum, Superintendent to Director, June 12, 1957, *ibid*.; Museum Branch monthly reports, June and July 1957, February and November 1958, April 1960, Monthly Reports Museum Division box, NPS History Collection.

41. *Mount Locust Furnishing Plan*, Decorative Arts and Material Culture Collection, HFC Library.
42. Field Order 7-58, Acting Associate Director to All Field Offices, Arch, and Hist. Structures folder, Storage Box 111, NPS History Collection.
43. Schuyler House plan in Decorative Arts and Material Culture Collection, HFC Library; memorandum, Acting Chief, Branch of Museums, to Regional Director, Region One, Nov. 30, 1959, Branch of Museums Dailies 1954-62 box, NPS History Collection; Museum Branch monthly reports, February and September 1960, *ibid.*
44. Fort Laramie plans in Decorative Arts and Material Culture Collection, HFC Library. Johnson married Richard Ketcham, a Park Service engineer detailed to Fort Laramie, in December 1961 and returned with him to San Francisco in mid-1962. In later years she prepared several more excellent furnishing plans for the Service under contract.
45. Carson's plans *ibid.* Carson later served as regional curator and as a principal interpretive planner at the Denver Service Center. She married Don Rickey, a Park Service historian specializing in frontier military history.
46. The Winterthur Program offered by the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum and the University of Delaware provided graduate training in decorative arts scholarship and connoisseurship. The Museum Branch had been hesitant to recruit curators with this specialized training because of concern that their focus on artistic quality would conflict with Park Service objectives of historical accuracy and appropriateness.
47. Field Order 19-60, Acting Director to Washington Office and All Field Offices, Sept. 2, 1960, Interpretive Planning box, NPS History Collection.
48. Memorandum, Chief, Branch of Museums, to Chief Architect, July 20, 1961, Branch of Museums Dailies 1959-62 storage box, NPS History Collection.
49. *Museum Handbook*, Part III, p. 2; Lewis, *Manual for Museums*, p. 182.
50. Memorandum, Chief, Branch of Museums, to Regional Director, Western Region, Apr. 8, 1963, Branch of Museums/Museum Operations Dailies August 1962-December 1965 storage box, NPS History Collection; Diana R. Pardue, "Collection Preservation Guide, Yosemite National Park," March 1980, p. 42.
51. Memorandum, Acting Chief, Branch of Museums, to Regional Director, Region One, Oct. 10, 1960, Branch of Museums Dailies 1959-1962 storage box, NPS History Collection; memorandum, Chief, Branch of Museums, to Regional Director, Dec. 15, 1960, *ibid.*; memorandum, Acting Chief, Branch of Museums, to Regional Director, Jan. 24, 1961, *ibid.*; memorandum, Chief, Branch of Museums, to Regional Director, July 26, 1961, *ibid.*; memorandum, Chief, Branch of Museums, to Regional Director, Southeast Region, Mar. 17, 1964, Branch of Museums/Museum Operations Dailies August 1962-December 1966 storage box, NPS History Collection.

52. Although erected in the late 1700s and the oldest surviving structure in Harpers Ferry, the Harper House had significance to the park primarily as an example of rental housing at the eve of the Civil War. Its furnishings reflected its known occupancy at that time by an Irish immigrant grocer's family. This shocked some of its first visitors who came on a National Trust tour evidently expecting to see the 18th-century furnishings so popular with collectors.

53. Memorandum, Acting Assistant Director, Conservation, Interpretation, and Use, to Chairman, Long Range Requirements Task Force, Branch of Museums/Museum Operations Dailies August 1962-December 1966 storage box, NPS History Collection; Branch of Museum Operations Special Objectives for FY65, Aug. 11, 1964, *ibid.*; Report, Conference of Regional Museum Curators, Sept. 13-18, 1964, Regional Curators Conference 1964 folder, Curatorial Services Division files, Harpers Ferry.

54. Memorandum, Chief, Branch of Museum Operations, to Chief, Division of Museums, Jan. 15, 1973, NPS Archives Ace. No. 31 storage box, NPS History Collection.

55. Lewis, *Manual for Museums*, pp. 189-95.

56. Memorandum, Chief Curator, WASO, to Manager, HFC, Nov. 9, 1982, Furnishing Plans folder, Curatorial Services Division files, Harpers Ferry.

57. Memorandum, Acting Assistant Director, Conservation, Interpretation, and Use, to Chairman, Long Range Requirements Task Force, Feb. 8, 1963.

58. Historic House Museums (Inspections) binder, Vera Craig Files, Division of Historic Furnishings, HFC.

59. Memorandum, Chief, Branch of Museum Operations, to Chief, Division of Interpretation and Visitor Services, Nov. 14, 1966, enclosing seminar report, Branch of Museums/Museum Operations Dailies August 1962-December 1966 storage box, NPS History Collection.

60. Memorandum, Chief, Branch of Museum Operations, to Regional Director, Northeast Region, Nov. 19, 1964, Mt. Washington Tavern folder, Vera Craig Files, Division of Historic Furnishings, HFC; subsequent memoranda *ibid.* The proposal led to substantial modification of the park's initial scheme.